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ABSTRACT

This paper, one in a series about the priorities of the professoriate, traces the rise in the use of part-time faculty and asks whether academic employment has become a dual labor market. Data for the study was derived from the 1993 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty. The research focuses on the effects on part-time faculty and on educational quality of having different employment practices for tenure-track and part-time faculty. The study suggests ways in which colleges and universities can integrate part-timers into the professional community so as to make a commitment to high-quality education. The report examines the rising use of part-time faculty; defines the term dual labor market; discusses whether dual labor market theory fits faculty employment; compares the characteristics of part- and full-time faculty and the working conditions, asking specifically whether such working conditions constitute a dual labor market; examines the differences in employment practices (recruitment, appointments, teaching assignments, support and services, salaries, benefits, job security, and academic status) for part-time faculty and their impact on educational quality; and suggests ways to build a community of part- and full-time faculty that delivers educational quality. (Contains 13 references.) (CH)

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Two Faculties or One?

The Conundrum of Part-Timers in a Bifurcated Work Force

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NEW PATHWAYS: FACULTY CAREERS AND EMPLOYMENT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Judith M. Gappa is vice president for human relations and professor of educational administration at Purdue University. From 1980 to 1991, she was associate vice president for faculty affairs at San Francisco State University, where she was responsible for all personnel actions affecting approximately 1,800 faculty. Previously, she held positions at Utah State University and the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems in Boulder, CO, and also was a member of the faculty at San Francisco State University and Utah State University. Her most recent book, *The Invisible Faculty: Improving the Status of Part-Timers in Higher Education* (Jossey-Bass, 1993), coauthored with David Leslie, is about part-time and temporary faculty.

David W. Leslie is professor of education at the College of William and Mary. Formerly, he served as a faculty member at Florida State University and the Universities of Virginia and Illinois. He has served as president of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) and associate editor of *The Review of Higher Education*. He is the coauthor, with Judith Gappa, of *The Invisible Faculty*. His most recent book is *Wise Moves in Hard Times* (Jossey-Bass, 1996), coauthored with E.K. Fretwell.

About the New Pathways Working Paper Series

The Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards is a special program of the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE). It works with faculty leaders, senior academic administrators, trustees, legislators, and others interested in refocusing faculty priorities to address pressing institutional and societal needs. To advance this agenda, AAHE initiated a project called "New Pathways: Faculty Careers and Employment for the 21st Century." The New Pathways Working Paper Series addresses key issues related to changing faculty careers and employment arrangements; the series consists of 14 papers to be released during 1996-1997.

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The section of this paper "Different Employment Practices and Their Effects" was adapted with permission from *The Invisible Faculty: Improving the Status of Part-Timers in Higher Education,* by Judith M. Gappa and David W. Leslie. © 1993 Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc.

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FOREWORD

In 1992, AAHE entered into the growing national debate about the priorities of the professoriate by establishing the Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards — a program that sponsors an annual national conference, issues publications, and serves as a general clearinghouse. Thus, when tenure surfaced in the spring of 1994 as a major issue of conversation and media attention, we became an interested party in the discussion.

On reflection, we decided that what was needed was not another familiar debate about the pros and cons of tenure but a new dialogue — a dialogue in which tenure was placed in a larger context of fresh thinking about two questions: What career paths make sense for the professoriate of the 21st century? What varieties of employment arrangements might most appropriately undergird these paths?

We also concluded that what might best help campuses work through these questions was not more philosophical argument but concrete options: practical ideas about new career paths and imaginative employment arrangements that campuses could try on for size.

AAHE's New Pathways project seeks to carry out that agenda. Project activities include (1) sponsoring forums to advance the dialogue; (2) serving as a general clearinghouse; and (3) initiating investigations into selected, particular issues.

Central direction for the project is provided by a three-person team: R. Eugene Rice, director of AAHE's Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards; Richard Chait, professor of higher education, Harvard Graduate School of Education; and Judith Gappa, professor and vice president for human relations at Purdue University. Richard Chait's part of the project, which focuses on creative employment arrangements, is supported by a generous grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts.

The project team in turn benefits from the wise counsel of a four-person national advisory panel: Richard Lyman, president emeritus, Stanford University (chair); Andrew Hurwitz, attorney; Ejner Jensen, professor of English and special counsel to the president, University of Michigan; and Linda Wilson, president, Radcliffe College.

We wanted to make our own investigations quickly available in a form that was affordable, easily duplicated, and suggestive of what they really are: works in progress, intended to stimulate and enrich further discussion.

Russell Edgerton

President, American Association for Higher Education

March 1996

Two Faculties or One? The Conundrum of Part-Timers in a Bifurcated Work Force

by Judith M. Gappa and David W. Leslie

New data show that part-timers constitute approximately 41 percent of the faculty in American colleges and universities (Kirshstein et al. 1996). These data suggest that use of part-timers has expanded more rapidly than had been previously recognized (Gappa and Leslie 1993). This trend prompts questions about whether college and university faculty continue to work as an intellectual community with common goals and interests or whether they may splinter into two (or more) distinct subprofessions with different and potentially competing interests.

In this paper, we trace the reasons for the rise in the use of part-time faculty and examine whether or not academic employment resembles a dual labor market. We use data on college and university faculty from the 1993 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) to see how part-timers and full-timers are alike and different, and in what ways their interests may compete. We look at the effects on part-timers and on educational quality of having different employment practices for tenure-track and part-time faculty. We then suggest ways in which colleges and universities can integrate part-timers into a professional community that is committed to high-quality education.

We conclude that part-timers and full-timers are similar in their characteristics, but that they have very different working conditions. The existence of two separate and distinct employment systems has the potential to damage academic quality. We believe that part-time faculty constitute a well-qualified, valuable resource and, when properly used, contribute significantly to academic quality. [1] Reconceptualizing the work force as *one faculty* that shares work equitably, that concentrates on setting high standards for all faculty in the arts of teaching and fostering learning, and that allocates rewards

[1] Recommendations for enhancing the employment of part-time faculty are developed fully in our book, *The Invisible Faculty* (1993).

in line with real productivity instead of status in a hierarchical system would be a good starting point in changing the relationships between the tenure-track and nontenurable part-timers in today's faculty.

THE NEED FOR CHANGE

The public widely views tenure as a shelter for underproductive and overcompensated academics. Its role in protecting academic freedom with concomitant economic security is poorly understood. At the same time, escalating public demand for access to higher education at a time of steady-state or declining revenues raises hard economic challenges to traditional assumptions about who teaches, how much of faculty work ought to be classroom teaching, and how this teaching is delivered. State legislatures and others insist on greater accountability and measurement of faculty productivity because of a perceived lack of fit between faculty priorities and institutional missions. As the public grows increasingly impatient with higher education's slow response to change, the quality movement has influenced students who are no longer willing to have the "providers" decide what they need. Instead, students are demanding services and products that do not necessarily fit neatly into traditional college campus classrooms or calendars. And life-long education tailored to meet needs of all kinds of students has fostered a new competitiveness in the education "market." This competitiveness is heightened by the revolutions in telecommunications and computing. Higher education is no longer institution-specific (Dillman et al. 1995: 3; Heydinger and Simsek 1992: 15-16).

A CAREFUL LOOK AT THE PART-TIME FACULTY WORK FORCE AND AT THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WORK SUGGESTS THAT CONSIDERABLE MYTHOLOGY EXISTS AND CAN BE DEBUNKED EASILY.

Can faculty continue to control their own work and preserve the tenure system when the public says colleges and universities are not meeting public needs and competition for students is increasing? The rising use of part-time faculty to deliver a larger and larger portion of undergraduate education only sharpens the questions the public is asking. It also raises questions about whether the academic work force may have become too fragmented. Do differences in status now split people away from one another and away from the idea of a community of scholars? Do faculty still share an interest in providing a coherent undergraduate experience? And it raises questions about whether, in their mounting emphasis on research, colleges and universities have sustained their commitment to teaching and learning.

A careful look at the part-time faculty work force and at the conditions under which they work suggests that considerable mythology exists and can be debunked easily. On the whole, part-timers add value because they are well-qualified, highly motivated, and largely effective in the classroom when they are supported appropriately. Yet they differ among themselves and from full-time faculty in ways that raise serious questions. For example, is the bifurcation of the faculty into full- and part-time strata a sign that an exploitive "dual labor market" may be emerging in academe? Are full- and part-time faculty working together effectively to create the most coherent learning environments for students? How have colleges and universities integrated part-timers into a purposeful academic community? What "best practices" can be recommended?

The Rising Use of Part-Time Faculty

The transformation of American higher education from small, elite colleges teaching the select few to a national system of complex institutions accessible to all and leading a research enterprise that is the envy of the world has been completed in a remarkably short time. During the 1950s and 1960s (the years in which most current senior faculty were hired), funds were plentiful and institutions did not have to choose among competing priorities. Research activities and instructional capacity expanded simultaneously. A huge demand for faculty gave a freshly recruited cohort of professors the leverage to negotiate their salaries, workloads, and rewards.

Unprecedented awards of research funds contributed to the prestige of individual faculty members and produced the equipment and facilities research programs required (Heydinger and Simsek 1992: 10). Consequently, incentives for faculty and academic departments to pursue research were strengthened. In just a few decades, the expansion of funded research contributed significantly to the realignment of faculty priorities. As Boyer (1990) noted, the focus moved from the student to the professor, from general to specialized education, and from commitment to the campus to loyalty to the profession. Simultaneously, the standards used to measure faculty performance narrowed. Faculty were ostensibly hired to teach, but promotion and tenure depended on research and publications. While this realignment might have been appropriate for research universities, the model has influenced and shaped faculty roles and performance throughout the entire higher education enterprise.

> Ironically, at the very time America's higher education institutions were becoming more open and inclusive, the culture of the professoriate was becoming more hierarchical and restrictive. (Boyer 1990: 12-13)

According to Bowen and Schuster (1986), as higher education gained in public esteem and prospered financially from 1955 to 1970, the academic profession was an attractive magnet for capable and ambitious faculty. Since the early 1970s, however, the appeal of the academic profession has diminished noticeably (4-5). The growth in demand for higher education has continued, but the economic flexibility to offer faculty attractive salaries and working conditions has diminished. According to Heydinger and Simsek (1992), there is every reason to believe that funding over the next two decades will only become tighter than at any time since the Depression. Higher education is not at the top of most states' funding agendas. As financial strains grow, legislators and other stakeholders will increasingly demand evidence that their sizable investments are being used effectively and efficiently. Faced with unpalatable trade-offs, institutions are finding it necessary to develop alternative reward and compensation mechanisms that either increase productivity or decrease costs (14-15).

THE EXPANDED USE OF PART-TIME, NONTENURE-TRACK FACULTY HAS CREATED TWO TIERS IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION: THE TENURED "HAVES" AND THE PART-TIME, TEMPORARY "HAVE-NOTS."

One way to respond to increases in student demand while holding down the need for new financial resources was to hire new people to teach and to pay them less. Between 1970-71 and 1982-83, the ratio of full- to part-time faculty fell from 3.5:1 to 2.1:1. The increase in part-timers to 41 percent of faculty in this country is, in large part, the result of the need to lower payroll costs, institutions' efforts to maintain flexible staffing in a time of uncertain and rapidly shifting enrollments, and the growth of community colleges (Bowen and Schuster 1986: 5, 61).

In the decade since Bowen and Schuster's study, the academic work force has been gradually restructured. While tenure-track and tenured faculty make up 74 percent of all full-time faculty, they make up only 64 percent of the full-time faculty hired within the last five years (NEA 1995: 2). During this same period, the use of part-time faculty is estimated to have grown from 33 percent of all faculty to 41 percent (Kirshstein et al. 1996: 8). Increasingly, a greater proportion of undergraduate instruction is being done by nontenurable faculty, most of whom are part-time.

The expanded use of part-time, nontenure-track faculty has created two tiers in the academic profession: the tenured "haves" and the part-time, temporary "have-nots." These primary and secondary work forces are employed under dramatically different conditions. And the division is clearly motivated by the increasingly stressed economic condition of higher education:

> The reason for the two faculties is that the one sustains the other: The low costs and heavy undergraduate teaching loads of the have-nots help make possible the continuation of a tenure system that protects the jobs and perquisites of the haves. (Gappa and Leslie 1993: 2)

In other "industries," such a gap in conditions of employment has been described as a "dual labor market." Is there, in fact, a dual labor market in higher education?

What Is a Dual Labor Market?

According to Montagna (1977), dual labor market theory was developed during the 1960s when economists related poverty to occupational structure in a new paradigm that depicted two largely separate work forces, a primary and a secondary labor market. Other social scientists emphasized the duality of the labor market based on race, sex, or age. The primary market has its own occupational distribution, institutions, and procedures for recruitment, promotion, and training that favor certain demographic groups (67).

Whatever its basis, in a dual labor market the pricing and allocation of labor within an institution are governed by the organization's rules and procedures. These rules give certain rights and privileges to workers inside organizations or occupations (the primary market), with no direct competition from workers outside the organization or occupation (the secondary market). The two markets meet where criteria governing entry to an occupation are responsive to external market conditions. But internal market arrangements take over once the individual is in the organization or occupation. The primary sector offers jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, opportunities for advancement, security, and equity and due process in the administration of work rules. The secondary market jobs tend to be low-paying with poorer working conditions, little opportunity for advancement, instability and high turnover, and an informal and personalized relationship between workers and supervisors that allows for capricious and arbitrary treatment (Montagna 1977: 67-68).

> Once in the primary labor market, people have careers that are defined as a graduated sequence of ever-increasing responsibilities within an occupation. . . . Career sequences of jobs are cumulative in that the previous experience adds value to the career and the future opportunities. . . . [It] . . . is a minority elite institution in Western society. (71)

Social, historical, and economic factors help maintain labor market duality. This duality may, in turn, reinforce already strong educational, class, race, and gender barriers in society. In extreme cases, the two work forces in a dual labor market may turn antagonistic to each other, and conflict may arise as each attempts to pursue and advance its own interests (70).

DOES DUAL LABOR MARKET THEORY FIT FACULTY EMPLOYMENT?

In some ways, tenure in higher education appears to be the kind of "institutional rule" that might perpetuate (and be sustained by) a dual labor market system. [2] As noted earlier, dual labor markets are the result of institutional arrangements favoring the primary work force and insulating that work force from competitive market forces (Sakamoto and Chen 1991). Institutions make decisions that protect long-term investments in human capital for reasons that are quite clear. They benefit from an experienced and committed work force, especially when the skills of that work force may be scarce. Tenure systems appear to have characteristics of a dual labor market, but economic conditions in higher education are changing traditional faculty employment patterns.

Faculty enjoyed a seller's market for their services during the two or three postwar decades of great enrollment growth and when institutions saw opportunities to add to prestige, visibility, and "soft" money by attracting highly productive (and visible) researchers to their faculties. It was during this time, perhaps, that protection of faculty security — economic and intellectual — was most thoroughly institutionalized through tenure systems. Nominal qualification for a faculty job — the attainment of an advanced degree — was not enough to enter the primary work force. Institutions required performance during a probationary period and evidence of competitive excellence to award tenure. In this way, institutions got what they needed — prestigious, committed, and experienced

[2] For a review of theoretical and empirical work applying the dual labor market perspective to academe, see Youn (1988) and Finnegan (1996).

faculty who could (at least arguably) be depended on for the longer term because they enjoyed a protected interest in a stable and lasting employment relationship. Faculty got economic security, intellectual freedom, control over their own working conditions and productivity, and the prospect of protection from market volatility in their own employment. [3]

Faculty have defended the tenure system as essential to a high-quality educational environment and to the protection of freedom of inquiry that has made American higher education a world leader in both basic and applied research. And as long as the social return on the public's investment in colleges and universities has remained acceptable, the protection of tenure has been sustained by increasing tuition and state and federal appropriations.

But the calculus of productivity now seems to be changing, and the economic surplus that once flowed to higher education may no longer be reliable enough to sustain as large a tenured work force as has been customary in recent decades. Substantial changes in the economic conditions under which colleges and universities instituted current tenure systems have strained their ability to maintain a protected and privileged work force. The emergence and growth of the secondary work force — part-time, nontenurable faculty — is a measure of the extent to which this stress has grown. Institutions have had to control costs in the face of their long-term commitments to tenured faculty. Simultaneously, they have had to meet shifting market demands in student enrollment with a tenured faculty that may or may not have the needed skills. Given a surplus of people who are well qualified, available, and willing to teach — some because they need the work, but a larger number motivated by the prospect of intellectual stimulation and psychic rewards — at comparatively low wages, the secondary work force expanded substantially. Institutions have come to depend more on this secondary work force of nontenurable part-timers to do the productive work of teaching.

CAREFULLY ALLOCATING REWARDS IN LINE WITH REAL PRODUCTIVITY WOULD BE A GOOD SECOND STEP.

The rapid rise of a two- (or more) tier work force has caused many to raise questions about whether part-timers are equal to the job full-time faculty do. These questions have suggested that part-timers are less qualified than full-time faculty and that they work under more difficult conditions. Our own previous research (Gappa and Leslie 1993) effectively refuted the myth that part-timers are

[3] For a more substantive economic perspective on tenure in academe, see McPherson and Winston (1988).

generally underqualified for their assignments. Most part-timers are employed elsewhere in full-time, primary occupations or are in partial or full retirement after successful careers, usually outside academe, or are freelancers choosing to build their careers around a series of part-time positions for a variety of reasons. These part-timers (for the most part) teach for the intrinsic rewards, not because they need income. They, along with a fourth category of part-timer — the aspiring academic — are fully qualified for the assignments they typically hold. We did find, however, that employment practices for part-timers can be very damaging to quality, because part-timers may have neither enough incentives or encouragement to do excellent work nor the appropriate tools to do their jobs.

Our analysis of the current situation leads us to the conclusion that an exploitive dual labor market in academe is probably not sustainable in the long run. A productive working arrangement in which all faculty contribute to high-quality education probably is. Unless tenured faculty, the main beneficiaries of the current system, concentrate on the quantity and quality of their institutions' products, no matter who is doing the production, they may find their privileges to be economically and practically unsustainable, no matter how meritorious the philosophical rationale for tenure may be.

Reconceptualizing the work force as *one faculty* that shares work equitably, that collaborates on designing and conducting high-quality experiences for students, that concentrates on setting high standards for all in the arts of teaching and fostering learning would be a good starting point. Carefully allocating rewards in line with real productivity would be a good second step.

In reaching these conclusions, we are not saying tenured faculty would carry heavier teaching loads or cut back on the amount of their time assigned to research. That is not our point. Our point is a deeply political one: Tenure-track faculty have to understand that the system supporting them has become economically threatened and that its preservation will require a fundamentally economic solution. They have to mobilize to produce — using all faculty, tenurable and nontenurable, full- and part-time — in the fullest and most appropriate ways. That means changing the relationship between the "haves" and the "have nots."

In the next section, we will show that a true dual labor market, with its primary and secondary labor forces, does not appear to characterize faculty employment. But a different set of employment conditions for part-timers may be essential to promote community and shared effort in teaching and learning.

Comparing Part- and Full-Time Faculty Characteristics and Working Conditions

The 1993 NSOPF gathered data on more than 7,000 part-time faculty, the largest national survey of this group ever conducted and the most comprehensive assessment of their characteristics, work patterns, and attitudes. [4] Do the data indicate a dual labor market in faculty employment? The most important results of this survey lie, we think, in the data that show part-time faculty characteristics to be much like full-time faculty and in the data that suggest that working conditions for part-time faculty are indeed often substandard and a threat to quality performance.

Demographic Characteristics of Part-Time Faculty

Data from the 1993 NSOPF show that:

- Forty-one (41) percent of all faculty are part-time (Kirshstein et al. 1996: 8).
- Part-time faculty are well qualified by reason of preparation and experience to teach the courses they are assigned — principally undergraduate courses.
- Forty-eight (48) percent of all part-time faculty teach in community colleges, 4.8 percent teach in private liberal arts colleges, 20 percent teach in comprehensive universities and colleges, 10.1 percent teach in doctorate-granting universities, and 9.8 percent teach in research universities.
- Part-timers are more likely to be younger (15% are under 35, compared with 8% of full-timers) and also more likely to be older (7% are over 65, compared with 4% of full-timers).
- Part-timers are substantially more likely to be women (45% of part-timers, compared with 33% of full-time faculty).
- Part-time faculty are similar to full-time faculty in race and ethnicity. Part-timers (89%) and full-timers (87%) are equally likely to be white.

[4] The data on part-time faculty from the 1993 NSOPF used in this paper are taken from an analysis prepared by David Leslie (1995) for the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) using the official survey data provided by NCES. As of this writing, NCES is reassessing these data, and its official estimates of the numbers of part-time faculty have changed (Kirshstein et al. 1996). Changes in the estimate of the numbers of part-time faculty are predicted; but we do not anticipate they will significantly alter the conclusions we reach in this paper.

- Part-time and full-time faculty are equally likely to be married (73%, compared with 75%). These data, considered jointly with data on age and gender, suggest a part-time work force that is generally mature and stable, not young and transient.
- Unlike full-time faculty, of whom 54.5 percent hold doctorates, only 16 percent of part-timers have doctorates, with another 10 percent holding terminal professional degrees. Fifty-two (52) percent of part-timers have one (or more) master's degree. To some extent, these data reflect the use of part-timers by different sectors within higher education. Very few part-timers teaching at community colleges hold doctorates or terminal professional degrees, but close to half (49%) of those teaching at research universities and more than half (53%) teaching at doctorate-granting universities do.
- Seventy-seven (77) percent of part-timers, compared with 25 percent of full-timers, report that they are employed simultaneously elsewhere. Of this 77 percent, two-thirds say their other job is full-time. (We labeled these part-timers "specialists, experts, and professionals" in *The Invisible Faculty,* see p. 50.)
- Part-timers aspiring to full-time academic positions constitute a small portion of the population, ranging from 11 percent at doctorate-granting universities to 15 percent at liberal arts colleges. Some of these aspiring academics (sometimes colorfully called "freeway fliers") voluntarily or involuntarily support themselves with three or more academic jobs on several campuses at the same time.
- Proportionally more part-timers (48%) live in households with a total annual income under $55,000 than do full-timers (31%); and proportionally more full-timers (28%) than part-timers (20%) live in households with a total annual income above $70,000. Part-timers (16.6%) and full-timers (16.8%) are equally likely to be in the middle range of total household income ($55,000 to $70,000). Very few part-time faculty (10.5%) live in households with less than $25,000 total annual income.
- Part-timers teaching at research and doctorate-granting institutions are substantially more likely to come from households earning the highest incomes, while part-timers teaching in private liberal arts and community colleges are more likely to come from middle-income households. Thus, total annual household income for part-timers, on average, appears to be related to the sector of higher education where they are employed.
- Marked differences occur when total *earned* incomes of part-timers and full-timers (as opposed to *household* incomes) are compared. Nearly 62 percent (61.7) of part-timers earn less than

$40,000 annually, compared with 29 percent of full-timers. Twenty-four (24) percent of part-timers earn between $40,000 and $70,000 annually, compared with 48 percent of full-timers. But, 8 percent of part-timers earn in excess of $100,000 annually, compared with 9 percent of full-timers! Earned income varies greatly by sector, with part-time faculty at research and doctorate-granting universities reporting higher earned income more frequently than those at other types of institutions. Part-time faculty at private liberal arts and community colleges report lower earned incomes. Gender may also be a factor here, as women are more likely to teach at liberal arts colleges and men are most likely to teach at research or doctorate-granting universities.

- Half of part-timers (52%) indicate they prefer to work part-time, and 71 percent are motivated to teach part-time because they want to be part of an academic environment. Considering that 77 percent of part-timers have other jobs elsewhere, it would appear that economic motives play a smaller role in motivation for part-time work than is generally assumed. These data are congruent with our earlier research, which showed that part-timers are highly varied in their reasons for seeking part-time positions and typically have, or are ending, primary careers in other occupations or choose to work part-time in a variety of roles. Still, 43 percent indicate they could not find a full-time position in their field, and 57 percent report they teach part-time to supplement their incomes.
- Part-time faculty have typically worked at their college or university for a shorter time than full-time faculty. But close to 45 percent have worked at their current institutions for at least four or more years, 17 percent have worked there for six to ten years, and another 16 percent have worked there for more than ten years. These percentages challenge the myth of a temporary and transient part-time work force.

While the demographics, economics, and preparation of part- and full-time faculty are different, these differences do not add up to a typical dual labor market system as described by Montagna. For example, 78 percent of part-time faculty have at least one graduate degree, and 64 percent of part-time faculty report they are employed full-time in another job. With the exception of gender, no striking demographic differences exist between part- and full-timers. Only 10.5 percent of part-timers live in households with annual incomes below $25,000. Clearly, a segment of part-timers are dependent on their teaching jobs for income, but it is a small one.

These data clarify the overriding similarities between full- and part-time faculty. Unlike a typical dual labor market, in which the secondary employees are an economically vulnerable underclass, the part-time faculty work force is largely voluntary, reasonably well-off in economic terms, and professionally qualified for the work they do. If we were to consider these data alone, we might conclude that part-timers and full-timers constitute a community of professional peers, that the divisions between them are not as great as they are assumed to be.

Employment Practices

Our work on *The Invisible Faculty* and the 1993 NSOPF data show a different picture when we look at terms and conditions of employment. Data about employment practices covering part- and full-time faculty show that

- The overwhelming majority of part-time faculty do not have access to tenured positions. Only 4.3 percent are either tenured (2.8%) or on a tenure track (1.5%). By comparison, three-quarters of full-time faculty (76%) are tenured (55%) or on a tenure track (21%).
- Similarly, part-timers typically do not enjoy the protection of long-term contracts. Most (62%) work on term-by-term contracts, while only 14 percent of full-time faculty report such short-term employment. Part-timers do not have job security.
- More than two-thirds (68%) of full-time faculty report they are involved in research and writing, while only half that many part-timers (34%) report involvement in research and writing. Instead, part-timers are about twice as likely to devote virtually all (81-100%) of their time at their institutions to teaching. The typical part-timer (79%) devotes up to 16 hours a week in paid status at the college or university.

Job Satisfaction of Part-Time and Full-Time Faculty

Given the characteristics, employment status, and activities of part-timers, how satisfied are they with their work? The 1993 NSOPF survey explored part-timers' attitudes on a variety of issues.

- About 85 percent of both part- and full-time faculty express general satisfaction with their job.
- Part-timers are much less likely to be satisfied with their job security than full-timers, the majority of whom are tenured. Forty-five (45) percent of part-timers are either very or somewhat dissatisfied with their job security.

- Part-time and full-time faculty also differ substantially in their level of satisfaction with opportunities for advancement at their current institution. More than 56 percent of part-timers are very or somewhat *dissatisfied,* while more than 64 percent of full-timers are very or somewhat *satisfied*.
- Two other core indicators of job satisfaction are salary and benefits. Neither part- nor full-time faculty are highly satisfied or dissatisfied with their pay; both groups cluster in a middle range of moderate satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In the case of benefits, the differences are far more telling: More than 75 percent of full-timers express *satisfaction*; but 57 percent of part-timers express *dissatisfaction,* and another 33 percent of part-timers are *very dissatisfied* with their benefits.

Is This Evidence of a Dual-Labor Market?

THEY TEACH BECAUSE THEY WANT TO AND THEY FIND IT SATISFYING. THEY ARE A VALUABLE RESOURCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION, NOT A LIABILITY

Are part-time faculty a typical secondary work force in a dual labor market? Our conclusion is "no" as far as their overall qualifications, motivations, and satisfactions are concerned. The data show part-timers to be a stable, loyal, experienced, qualified, motivated, and generally satisfied work force. Because they are not as substantially rewarded as full-time faculty, their equally high level of satisfaction is likely to be associated with the intrinsic aspects of teaching and involvement with academic life. They teach because they want to and they find it satisfying. They are a valuable resource to higher education, not a liability.

On the other hand, part-timers are dissatisfied with the lack of security, benefits, and support they receive. Thus, we conclude that the gap between part- and full-time faculty is less a product of inherent differences between them (as is the case of a typical dual labor market) than it is of the conditions under which they work. It is a myth to say that part-timers damage quality because they are not qualified. But it is a matter of great concern that part-timers carry a large part of the undergraduate teaching load while working under employment practices that do not usually have the incentives, support, and security that tenured faculty enjoy.

This gap concerns us because it may divide the faculty into different interest groups who see their claims to benefits as being mutually competitive. It also concerns us because it means that

institutions expect to provide quality education without adequately supporting large numbers of those who teach.

Certainly, different employment practices for part- and full-timers have the potential to adversely affect academic quality. So what are some of the ways part-time faculty employment differs from tenure-track employment, and what are the potential effects of these differences?

DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND THEIR EFFECTS [5]

For at least twenty-five years, colleges and universities have been employing an increasing number of part-timers. While individual part-timers come and go, as a group they constitute a permanent part of the faculty work force in every type of institution. Yet colleges and universities use employment policies and practices for part-timers that limit part-timers' effectiveness and contributions to overall academic quality. This section highlights some of these employment practices as examples of what institutions do (consciously or unconsciously) that can affect quality.

False Economies

One of the most alarming findings of our study of part-time faculty, described in *The Invisible Faculty*, was the sense in some departments and institutions that the use of part-time faculty had gotten out of control. Departments or institutions that felt this way exhibited some of the following characteristics:

- Decisions about programs are made for fiscal reasons.
- Planning horizons are short and often externally driven.
- Faculty staffing is ad hoc and driven by noneducational factors.
- Policies on the use of part-time faculty are informal and capriciously administered.
- There is little or no centralized record keeping or monitoring.
- Integration of part-time faculty into the institution and department is minimal.
- Evaluation of part-timers' performance is erratic or nonexistent.

[5] The information in this section is adapted from our book, *The Invisible Faculty* (Gappa and Leslie 1993). A more extensive analysis of different employment practices can be found there.

Departments and institutions exhibiting these characteristics and increasing numbers of part-timers risk serious deterioration of faculty employee relations and productivity.

Employing part-timers who are paid low wages as a money-saving tactic (regardless of the internal or external circumstances for doing so) leads to using part-timers for the wrong reasons. At some indeterminate point, adding more and more part-timers creates a substantial hidden cost to the institution. For example, as increasing numbers of part-time faculty are used, many noninstructional responsibilities are turned over to fewer and fewer full-time faculty (or professional staff) or neglected altogether. These full-time faculty are progressively drawn away from teaching assignments to handle program maintenance. In addition, they must recruit, mentor, supervise, and evaluate the part-timers. Attrition of full-time faculty members' participation in instruction raises questions about whether there is a sufficient, definable core of people devoted to continuity in the curriculum. It also leaves part-timers feeling that they work in isolation.

EMPLOYING PART-TIMERS WHO ARE PAID LOW WAGES AS A MONEY-SAVING TACTIC LEADS TO USING PART-TIMERS FOR THE WRONG REASONS.

While institutions may calculate efficiency by focusing on how to get the most instruction for the least money in a given fiscal year, they often overlook the costs associated with this instruction. For example, an associate professor making $40,000 a year may teach five courses a year. Assuming that about half of the faculty member's assignment is "instruction," with research and service accounting for the other half, that faculty member produces a three-credit course for around $4,000. A part-timer may teach the same course for about $1,500. But the part-timer must be hired, oriented, supervised, and evaluated to a greater extent than the full-timer. Space, equipment, and support services must be provided for each part-timer as an individual, not as a full-time equivalent. Considerable inefficiencies are involved in the paperwork and administrative time to continuously reappoint part-timers, especially when they teach only one or two courses. After all this effort (and cost), the part-timer does not always stay long enough to accumulate valuable experience. For all these reasons, the direct dollar savings per course are not as dramatic as they appear when the only variable being examined is the actual salary paid per course. (We are not aware, however, of any serious effort to calculate these transactional costs — and therefore we cannot estimate the real efficiencies of employing part-time faculty. We can report, however, that our case study institutions almost uniformly understood that these costs are not trivial.)

Part-time faculty have much to offer when they are used for educational reasons. As one part-timer said:

> Part-time faculty are a modern fact of life and a useful flexible resource. They are emerging as a rational alternative . . . in a different kind of university that can extend itself in less-expensive ways to a greater segment of society. . . . If you want mass education and modern access, the use of part-time faculty is the model for how to do it. (110)

At some of our site institutions, experienced part-timers share responsibilities for curriculum development, advising, and recruitment, orientation, and evaluation of junior faculty — full and part-time. We found academic programs staffed almost completely with part-timers with no loss of quality. Quality is jeopardized when the use of part-timers is unplanned and out of control or for nonacademic reasons, and when part-timers are treated as a disenfranchised and exploitable work force.

Employment Policies and Practices

Part-time faculty employment has tended to be a casual affair based more on informal understandings and verbal commitments within departments than on institutional policies that provide fair and consistent treatment. Often hired at the last moment to fill vacant slots or pick up an extra course, part-timers in many institutions find that their employment never moves beyond a "temporary arrangement." In the best circumstances, part-timers become valued and established colleagues, despite the informality and insecurity of their employment. In the worst circumstances, part-timers remain marginal and are subjected to capricious and arbitrary treatment. It is the widespread use of casual, inconsistent, and potentially exploitive employment practices — and not the qualifications or motivations of part-timers themselves — that most seriously threatens academic quality.

Recruitment

Recruitment of part-time faculty is usually informal and handled by department chairs. Though some departments and institutions advertise their vacancies regionally or locally, most recruiting is by word of mouth. Department chairs, if unaccountable for their hiring practices, may "bottom fish" for the least expensive and most vulnerable (but not necessarily best-qualified) instructors.

Appointments

Despite the enormous variety among part-timers in their backgrounds, motivations, and work patterns, there is little flexibility in their appointments. For example, most part-timers are appointed term by term, and notification of an appointment or a renewal (regardless of the numbers of semesters previously employed) is often late. This late notification of appointment gives part-timers little time to prepare and can have a deleterious effect on the quality of the part-timers' teaching performance. In addition, for those part-timers who depend on the income, failure to notify them early can have a seriously disrupting effect on their lives.

Term-by-term appointments, policies limiting the numbers of continuous appointments part-timers can have, and arbitrary limits on the amount of work they can be assigned all contribute to the insecurity part-timers feel about their employment. Certainly these practices avoid any appearance of de facto tenure, but that goal could be better achieved through formal appointment procedures and employment contracts. Finally, restricting part-timers to half-time or less helps institutions avoid paying benefits. Even when they are employed in several appointments in different departments of the same college or university that together constitute a full-time load or more, part-timers do not necessarily receive benefits.

Teaching Assignments

Many part-timers interviewed during our site visits speak appreciatively about opportunities they have to try new courses, build new curricula, and open up broader teaching assignments for themselves. Others wistfully express interest in these opportunities and bitterness about their second-class status when it comes to teaching assignments. Both full- and part-timers see limitations on teaching assignments as threats to program continuity and integrity. The threat is enhanced by the lack of part-timers' participation in departmental committees or other nonteaching activities.

Support and Services

Resources for support services, supplies, and equipment are scarce, and part-timers are usually at the bottom of the pecking order. Frequently, offices that supply services require part-timers to turn in requests far in advance, and are closed during evening and weekend hours when part-timers may be teaching. Unavailability of adequate support services or office space can hamper part-timers' teaching and make advising students difficult.

Salaries

Salary policies for part-timers vary depending on institutional culture, ability to pay, and reasons for employing part-timers. Part-timers have a variety of views about salary. Those employed full-time elsewhere are not particularly concerned; others dependent on their salaries as an important part of income want a fair wage and merit increases. The vast majority of institutions use one of two alternatives: a flat rate for all part-timers (such as $1,500 per course) or an established range, frequently defined on the basis of qualifications and/or seniority. Salary policies for part-time faculty cause problems for institutions and individuals. Institutions complain that they are not competitive with surrounding colleges and universities or that established salary policies have been eroded by allowing part-timers to negotiate individually. Said one frustrated part-timer we interviewed:

> If you really want a strong faculty, you do it with the paycheck. That the secretaries get paid more is a hell of a statement. (162)

NOWHERE ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT CLEARER THAN IN PROVISIONS FOR JOB SECURITY

Benefits

Very few institutions provide benefits for part-timers; when they do, it is usually the result of collective bargaining. Overall, only 17 percent of part-timers report receiving subsidized medical insurance, compared with 97 percent of full-timers. Only 20 percent receive subsidized retirement plans, compared with 93 percent of their full-time counterparts. And only 9 percent receive tuition grants, compared with 48 percent of full-time faculty.

Because institutions formulate policies for benefits according to the time base of the individual's appointment rather than years of service, part-time faculty with ten to fifteen years of continuous teaching experience are usually treated the same as part-timers hired for one semester to replace someone in the classroom. While many part-timers receive full benefits coverage from their primary employment, others do not. And lack of benefits was the issue that received the highest response for dissatisfaction by part-timers on the 1993 NSOPF. Lack of health coverage is by far the most important and controversial benefit for part-timers.

> I don't have health insurance here. I panicked. I started working at a financial planning service to get the benefits. I work there one-half time. I work one-third time at an art gallery. I work two-thirds time at this institution. That is my schedule for this fall. My daughter just turned 2. I got laid off from my arts curator job. I don't know what the future is for me. (163)

Institutions also are concerned about the lack of health coverage for part-timers and are exploring alternatives, such as allowing individuals to buy into group health plans on their own.

Job Security

Nowhere are the differences in terms of employment clearer than in provisions for job security. Many part-timers have enjoyed long and mutually productive associations with their institutions, but these stable employment histories resulted from institutional goodwill, not from part-timers' rights to job security. Part-timers believe that a system in which long service and distinguished performance do not ensure continuing employment is manifestly unfair.

Status in the Academic Community

Dissatisfaction with employment policies and practices that demonstrate their second-class status is almost universal among part-time faculty we interviewed. They express anger and frustration about their treatment and the lack of appreciation for their efforts. For the most part, they do not feel "connected to" or "integrated into" campus life. Instead, they feel powerless, alienated, and invisible.

> There is a lot of territorial protection and jealousy on the part of full-time faculty. I proposed two new philosophy courses that are badly needed and got shot down on the basis of things other than merit, as I see it. There is a heavy sense that you don't threaten someone's territory. (191)

Many express clear annoyance over the lack of consultation and involvement in decisions affecting them, an annoyance that is only exacerbated by the feeling that protesting or demanding a more substantive role would jeopardize their continued employment.

Whether part-timers feel integrated is, in large measure, a matter of departmental culture. Departments that care deeply about teaching and learning seem to foster an atmosphere in which faculty members talk with one another about these issues. These departments involve part-timers and are more open to what they have to say. Performing and studio arts departments tend to be good examples of integrating part-timers.

> The arts faculty treat . . . adjuncts as full members of the departmental family. They do shows together, eat together, and so forth. Their schedules are arranged to bring them together more frequently. (186)

Department chairs' attitudes are also critically important. Several department chairs at private liberal arts colleges report trying to include part-timers in decision making:

> We don't want anyone in the classroom who isn't a part of this institution. Students pay a lot of money to come here. They have a right to a committed faculty. . . . There are no second-class faculty. Part-time faculty participate in department meetings and are fully integrated into the life of the department. (187)

For the most part, however, part-timers are not afforded opportunities to participate in discussions affecting their lives.

> I feel that full-time faculty would rather have more full-time faculty than adjuncts. . . . I don't have any way to get my ideas for change into the full-time faculty decision stream. (192)

Even at institutions with large numbers of part-timers, there are typically no formal avenues through which they can present their collective concerns. This lack of integration and participation produces feelings of being a second-class citizen, outside the mainstream, and isolated or invisible.

BUT HOW CAN INSTITUTIONS ACCELERATE THIS CHANGE AND INTEGRATE THE TWO FACULTIES INTO ONE?

The Effects of Employment Conditions on Quality

However much intrinsic satisfaction part-timers may experience from teaching, they are dissatisfied with many aspects of their employment. Part-timers who work at other jobs and have had broad experience in the real world of corporate, government, or artistic life are the most critical. They compare the way they are treated in academe with what they are accustomed to elsewhere. Many are cynical about the petty and thoughtless treatment they receive and the inequities in their employment despite their academic backgrounds and stature in other arenas.

These employment practices also affect academic quality. When part-time faculty are not engaged and when employment practices impede the ability of part-timers to do their jobs or departments or institutions to offer coherent academic programs, quality can be damaged.

Some colleges and universities recognize this negative impact and have taken steps to correct practices. We found exemplary recruiting activities and stringent criteria for hiring part-timers at some institutions. We also found orientation programs, mentoring, opportunities for faculty development, and evaluation systems that are models of good practice for both full- and part-time faculty. We talked to department chairs and senior faculty who care deeply about part-timers' success and who work hard to integrate them fully, recognize their accomplishments, and reward them for their performance. At some colleges and universities, traditional employment practices for part-timers are already changing.

But how can institutions accelerate this change and integrate the two faculties into one?

Building a Community of One Faculty

Does higher education perform best when it relies on a two-tier faculty employment system: full-time, tenure-track "haves" and part-time, nontenurable "have-nots"? As the economic condition of higher education has become more stressed, reliance on a fragmented faculty has, we think, become less functional. We are concerned that the existence of two very different employment systems may become a fundamental economic underpinning for preservation of the traditional tenure system. But we are more concerned that the bifurcation of the faculty work force may affect educational quality.

The current system of differentiating employment practices based on status in the academic profession works to undermine the collegial nature of the profession and the integrity of academic programs at many institutions. Coherent and effective academic programs require faculty members to collaborate on the design of curricula and cooperate in teaching courses to achieve intended outcomes. If some parts of the curriculum become the exclusive province of certain faculty members, while other parts are in the hands of a disenfranchised group, regardless of their qualifications, collaboration and cooperation might be difficult or impossible.

The prospect of different and mutually exclusive employment systems in the academic profession is not attractive. It can lead to conflict and degeneration of community. The more practical alternative is openness to change. We think an open dialogue is needed on how to reestablish a community of interest among all faculty in building high-quality programs. We urge that institutions and tenured faculty initiate this dialogue about the ways in which part-timers might become more integrated into a better-functioning academic work force. After all, threats to quality are naturally threats to the security and freedom of tenured faculty as well as part-time faculty. Everyone will be held accountable if the system does not perform at a level the public can value and support.

In this complex and controversial environment, different institutions will adapt and respond in their own ways and with respect for their own cultures, traditions, and circumstances. The following ideas are intended to open up discussion within institutions:

- Public pressure for change will not go away, and change in the academic profession is inevitable. More than ever, money for higher education will come from educating students. Therefore, discussions about the academic profession must center on what skills and talents are needed

and what kinds of career opportunities and economic incentives will result in excellent teaching at optimal cost.

- For tenured faculty to accept part-timers as valuable contributors to academic programs is critically needed. It is time to discard pervasive myths about part-time faculty as transient, temporary, and poorly qualified for their assignments. Those myths must be replaced with an acceptance of the reality that part-timers constitute a valuable resource to higher education. They have a role to play as faculty members, and they bring to that role scarce expertise, practical real-world experience, love of teaching, student-centeredness, and useful links to their communities.
- Tenured and tenure-track members of the faculty must also understand that their numbers as a portion of the teaching work force are declining as more nontenurable appointments, both full- and part-time, are made. The idea that tenure is the only way to promote quality in teaching is probably unrealistic in the present climate. Instead, we suggest exploring a variety of types of appointments to meet the needs of individuals and institutions for flexibility and options. Some ways to do this include full- or part-time nontenurable multiyear renewable contracts; tenurable appointments for less-than-full-time effort; ability to move between tenurable and nontenurable tracks; and inclusion of part-time faculty as members of the professoriate.
- Ways to extend academic freedom and a reasonable amount of job security to all faculty need to be found and written into faculty employment policies. Doing so will have the added benefit of helping to eliminate differentials in status that persist in the current system.
- As institutions draw on more and different people with a more diverse set of interests, motives, and qualifications, it may be time to rethink who "the faculty" are. People with high-level professional experience, cutting-edge clinical skills, broad and unusual life experiences, distinguished records of community leadership, perspectives from different cultural points of view, creative and original artistic ideas, experience in politics and government leadership, and a deep and genuine humanity that may not be measurable in conventional terms are all prospective faculty. An employment system that forces "either/or" choices and that defines qualifications narrowly in terms of eligibility for tenure is a system that may not be making the best use of the best people, or getting the best results from its education programs.
- To attract this kind of diverse and high-quality faculty, both full- and part-time, new career paths and more flexibility are essential. Discussions about academic careers may be assisted by

looking at modifications and alternatives to traditional tenure already occurring within colleges and universities (particularly within professional schools) and at similar professions outside academe.

- Faculty rewards and recognition need to be based on faculty members' productivity rather than on status in a tenure system. All faculty should be evaluated and rewarded for their performance. Tying rewards directly to exemplary performance, regardless of time base or career track, can go a long way toward achieving integration and improving quality. Part-timers should have opportunities for salary increases and career advancement. Whatever salary system is in place for part-timers should be consistent with the institution's overall philosophy and practice regarding faculty salaries (even if salary ranges vary) and constitute equitable compensation for the work performed.

Although tenure-track faculty themselves need to rethink the system in which they work and the way in which it can accommodate a wider range of interests, talents, and contributions, we found in our earlier work that institutions themselves can create and support a different set of employment conditions that will attract and provide incentives to a more diverse and highly capable part-time faculty work force:

- The use of part-time faculty should be based on a faculty staffing plan in which part-timers are employed for educational, not fiscal, reasons. Institutions should decide what kinds of faculty are needed to do what kinds of work. Institutions with a clear sense of mission will define the kinds of faculty they want and select the members of that faculty — regardless of full- or part-time status — because they have the qualifications, experience, and motivation to provide the education the institution seeks for its students. Implementation of the faculty staffing plan will be regularly reviewed to avoid unplanned, out-of-control use of part-timers.
- Part-timers should be considered regular members of the faculty. Institutions must develop and disseminate employment policies and practices that ensure part-timers are treated fairly and consistently, given the tools they need to do their jobs, and offered opportunities for career advancement and rewards for excellent performance. Practices such as late notification of appointment, semester-by-semester reappointments, and breaking continuity of employment to avoid claims of de facto tenure are unnecessary and unattractive.
- Because part-time faculty are a diverse work force, a range of employment choices — from tenure or some other measure of job security (such as extended appointment periods) for some,

to truly casual and intermittent employment for others — would benefit such faculty as individuals as well as the institutions that seek to retain them. Likewise, alternatives for pay and benefits ought to provide for the needs of those who may plan to teach part-time for an extended period and forgo other opportunities with better compensation.

- Finally, part-timers must be oriented and integrated into their departments and institutions as fully participating members of the faculty. All faculty represent a major capital investment by colleges and universities. Just as buildings and equipment need maintaining and renovating, so too do faculty need support and opportunities to learn, grow, develop, and renew. Part-timers should be included in faculty-development programs and opportunities. Part-time and full-time faculty can — with an adequate investment of resources — work together to sharpen their minds, develop new curricula and ways of teaching, and deepen their understanding of the subjects and the students they teach.

Academic employment for full- and part-time faculty alike needs to be aimed at sustaining high-quality programs and institutions. Faculty and administrators must recognize the need for change in the current employment system and open up discussions of how to change within their own colleges and universities. In doing so, they must include *all* faculty. We urge that all faculty be engaged in a working environment that is less colored with the "duality" of part- versus full-time distinctions and more focused on cooperation in promoting quality and increasing productivity.

Many faculty (and the public) worry that a blind defense of tenure in its present form and at the expense of part-time faculty is a misplaced argument that takes the focus off quality and productivity. We are also concerned that an effort to preserve rigid distinctions between two classes of faculty might further damage the willingness of highly prepared and motivated individuals to take part-time teaching assignments. While tenure will undoubtedly remain an important protection for academic freedom and economic security, it is now clear that fewer of those who teach in colleges and universities are receiving the benefits of tenure. How the academic freedom and the commitment to excellence of these faculty might be protected and enhanced is now of crucial importance. Whatever solutions colleges and universities find to the complex issues surrounding faculty employment, success will be tied to attracting and retaining the most talented people (many of whom may not be interested in tenure), and to drawing all faculty together around a clear set of values that promote a collegial environment, high-quality teaching, and professional responsibility. ■

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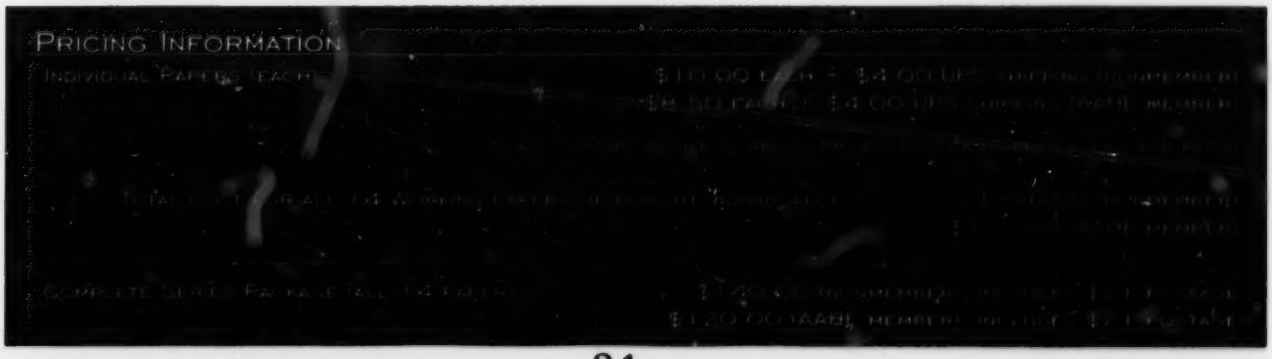

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by **Richard Chait**, professor, Harvard Graduate School of Education

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(#FRO9WP, approx 30pp, 1997)

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by **Judith M. Gappa**, vice president for human relations, Purdue University

Explores nontraditional, full-time faculty appointments that are being used as alternatives to traditional tenure-track faculty careers, and the academic and other reasons underlying their increasing use. (#FR10WP, 44pp, December 1996)

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by **Ann Ferren**, associate professor of education, American University

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by **Christine M. Licata**, associate dean for academic affairs, Rochester Institute of Technology, and **Joseph C. Morreale**, vice provost for planning, assessment, and research and professor of public administration, Pace University

Reviews current institutional policies and practices aimed at periodically evaluating tenured faculty. Topics examined include: campus goals for post-tenure review; specific evaluation criteria/procedures; implementation considerations and resource implications. Discusses the opportunities and difficulties associated with the initiation of such reviews, and how institutions handle measurement of outcomes and effectiveness. (#FR12WP, 90pp, March 1997)

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by **Richard Chait**, professor, Harvard Graduate School of Education, and **Cathy A. Trower**, research associate, University of Maryland

Explores employment arrangements in other professions such as law, medicine, and management and in think-tanks, to ascertain whether policies and practices in these settings have applicability and hold promise for higher education.
(#FR13WP, approx 30pp, 1997)

Alternatives to Tenure for the Next Generation of Academics

by **David W. Breneman**, professor and dean of education, University of Virginia

Helps answer the question, "What, if anything, would induce individual faculty to renounce tenure?" Develops approaches that could be used to understand the financial value that faculty assign to tenure and the relative appeal of various inducements to forego tenure.
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